

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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R 220720Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4010

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 10338

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IR

SUB: RASTAKHIZ PARTY NAMES FIRST POLITICAL BUREAU

REF: TEHRAN'S A-151 OF JULY 10, 1975

SUMMARY: IRANIAN RESURGENCE (RASTAKHIZ) PARTY (RPPI) NAMED 15 MEMBERS OF SINGLE PARTY'S POLITICAL BUREAU OCTOBER 19. DELAY IN APPOINTMENTS SINCE APRIL IS RESULT OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT PREOCCUPATION WITH PROJECTED CABINET RESHUFFLE WHICH BECAME NON-EVENT WHEN SHAH REAPPOINTED ENTIRE PREVIOUS CABINET SEPTEMBER 22. NEW POLITBUREAU MEMBERS ARE EXPERIENCED POLITICAL HANDS ACTIVE IN PARTY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS. THEY WILL BE JOINED BY TEN MINISTERS NAMED BY PRIME MINISTER, PLUS FIVE EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS-- PRIME MINISTER (AS RPPI SECRETARY-GENERAL), RPPI DEPSEC GEN, CHAIRMAN OF PARTY EXECUTIVE BOARD, AND ONE REPRESENTATIVE EACH FROM MAJLES AND SENATE. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CREATION OF POLITBUREAU WILL GIVE MORE DIRECTION TO OTHERWISE DESULTORY PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS TO DATE. END SUMMARY.

1. RPPI ON OCTOBER 19 UNVEILED 15 MEMBERS OF NEW POLITICAL BUREAU ELECTED BY PARTY EXECUTIVE BOARD. THESE PLUS FIVE EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS--RPPI SEC-GEN HOVEYDA; DEPSEC GEN FEREDOUN MAHDAVI; EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIRMAN JAMSHID AMUZEGAR; TWO MAJLES REPRESENTATIVES, CONFIDENTIAL

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SENATOR EZAHOLLAH PANAHI AND DEPUTY JAVAD SAID; AND TEN CABINET MIN-

ISTERS NAMED BY HOVEYDA WILL COMPOSE 30-MAN BUREAU WHICH IS EXPECTED TO EXERCISE WORKING CONTROL OVER PARTY AFFAIRS.

2. FOLLOWING ARE NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBERS:

A. MANUCHEHR AZMUN, 45, RECENTLY-ELECTED MAJLES DEPUTY AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS ORGANIZATION.

B. MOSTAFA ALAMUTI, 48, VETERAN MAJLES DEPUTY AND FORMER HEAD OF IRAN NOVIN PARTY FACTION FROM 1970-1975, AND FORMER IRAN NOVIN POLITBUREAU MEMBER.

C. HAMODOLLAH ELAHI, KHUZISTAN FACTORY WORKER.

D. MRS. MAHNAZ AFKHAMI, 34, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF IRANIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION AND WIFE OF MININTERIOR'S UNDERSECRETARY FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS.

E. MRS. LILI AMIR-ARJOMAND, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG ADULTS.

F. DR. MOHAMMAD BAHERI, 56, MINCOURT GRAND UNDER-SECRETARY AND FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

& GENERAL MOHAMMAD ALI SAFFARI, 75, SENATOR, FORMER LEADER OF IRAN NOVIN SENATE FACTION, AND EX-IRAN NOVIN POLITBUREAU MEMBER.

H. AHMAD QOREISHI, LATE 40'S, DEAN, FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, NATIONAL UNIVERISTY.

I. REZA QOTBI, 37, MANAGING DIRECTOR, NATIONAL IRANIAN RADIO AND TV ORGANIZATION.

J. MANUCHEHR GANJI, 44, LAW PROFESSOR AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO PRIME MINISTER.

K. DR. NASROLLAH MOGHADER-MOJDEHI, SENATOR AND FORMER CHANCELLOR OF MESHEH UNIVERSITY.

L. JAVAD MANSOUR, 50, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF IRANIAN CENTRAL INSURANCE ORGANIZATION, FORMER MININFORMATION, AND BROTHER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIME MINISTER ALI MANSOUR, ASSASSINATED IN 1965.

M. DR. MOHAMMAD HOSSEIN MUSAVI, 56, MAJLES DEPUTY AND FORMER MARDOM PARTY DEPUTY.

N. HUSHANG NAHAVANDI, 44, CHANCELLOR OF TEHRAN UNIVERSITY AND FORMER MINISTER OF HOUSING.

O. DARIUSH HOMAYUN, 48, EDITOR OF DAILY AYANDEGAN AND MARRIED TO SISTER OF AMBASSADOR TO U.S. ARDESHIR ZAHEDI.

3. ON OCTOBER 21 PRIME MINISTER NAMED FOLLOWING MINISTERS TO POLITBUREAU: PAHLBOD (CULTURE), ANSARY (ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND FINANCE), MOINI (LABOR), SADAGHIANI (COOPERATIVES AND RURAL AFFAIRS), NAJMABADI (INDUSTRY AND MINES), SHARIFI (EDUCATION), SHEIK DESLAMZADEH (SOCIAL WELFARE), HEDYATI (MINSTATE AND SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER), MAJIDI (MINSTATE AND CHIEF OF PLAN AND BUDGET ORGANIZATION) AND SHADMAN (MINSTATE AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, RPPI).

4. GROUP IS SOLID COLLECTION OF EXPERIENCED TYPES, INCLUDING AT LEAST FOUR (GANJI, HOMAYUN, AFKHAMI, AMIR-ARJOMAND) WHO WERE REPORTEDLY GOING TO REPLACE PRESENT MINISTERS BEFORE CABINET WAS RENAMED WITHOUT CHANGES (TEHRAN 9390 AND 9249). ACCORDING LOCAL OBSERVERS, NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBERS ARE EVENLY SPLIT BETWEEN CONSTRUCTIVE AND PROGRESSIVE WINGS OF PARTY, WITH ONE (PROBABLY BAHERI) NEUTRAL.

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5. REASON WHY NAMING OF POLITBUREAU WAS DELAYED SO LONG (PARTY EXECUTIVES AND EXECUTIVE BOARD WERE NAMED AT FIRST RPPI CONGRESS IN APRIL 1975) IS PROBABLY DUE TO SHAH'S AND HOVEYDA'S DESIRE TO DEAL WITH FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT FIRST AFTER JUNE MAJLES ELECTIONS. RETENTION OF CABINET SEPTEMBER 22 CLEARED WAY FOR COMPLETION OF PARTY STRUCTURE. FACT THAT NUMBER OF THOSE CHOSEN (BAHERI,

QOREISHI, NAHAVANDI, HOMAYUN) PREVIOUSLY VERY ACTIVE IN PARTY ADVISORY ROLES CONSIDERED INDICATION HOVEYDA AND MAHDAVI HOPE POLITBUREAU WILL TAKE UP SLACK LEFT BY FAILURE OF RPPI EXECUTIVE BOARD TO SUPERVISE PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK ON REGULAR BASIS. UNTIL IT CONVENED TO ELECT NEW POLITBUREAU, EXECUTIVE BOARD HAD NOT MET AS GROUP SINCE APRIL, AND CHAIRMAN AMUZEGAR HAS NOT USED BOARD TO FURTHER OWN POSITION IN PARTY AS EXPECTED. THIS DEVELOPMENT IS ATTRIBUTED TO AMUZEGAR'S PREOCCUPATION WITH OPEC AND INTERIOR MINISTRY MATTERS AS WELL AS OWN PERSONAL DISTASTE FOR HURLEY-BURLEY OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

6. IN ABSENCE OF FIRM DIRECTION FROM TOP, PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK HAS PRECEDED SLOWLY. PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES WERE APPOINTED IN EARLY AUGUST BUT INVENTORY OF PHYSICAL AND PERSONNEL ASSETS IN PROVINCES DID NOT GET UNDERWAY UNTIL NEARLY SEPTEMBER. ONLY THIS WEEK ANNOUNCEMENT MADE THAT 3,745 DISTRICT (KANOON) ORGANIZATIONS NOW ESTABLISHED, LARGEST IN KHORASSAN WITH 1,500 MEMBERS, SMALLEST IN ISFAHAN
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WITH 15.

7. COMMENT: GENERAL PUBLIC CYNICISM WHICH ACCOMPANIED FOUNDING OF RPPI (REFAIRGRAM) HAS NOT BEEN DISPELLED BY SLOWNESS WITH WHICH NEW MACHINERY READIED. DEPSEC GEN MAHDAVI AND HIS LIEUTENANTS ARE COMMITTED TO AVOIDING HEAVY BUREAUCRATIZATION OF NEW STRUCTURE (CONSIDERED PRINCIPAL FAILING OF IRAN NOVIN PARTY), BUT INSISTENCE THAT ALL SENIOR PARTY ADMINISTRATORS WORK FOR NO PAY AND RETAIN FULL-TIME JOBS HAS PRODUCED ORGANIZATIONAL FITS AND STARTS TYPICAL OF VOLUNTEER EFFORT. DEGREE TO WHICH NEW POLITBUREAU CAN GIVE DIRECTOR TO PARTY EFFORTS TO INCREASE MEANINGFUL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS WILL BE IMPORTANT MEDIUM-TERM LITMUS TEST OF WHETHER RPPI CAN (A) EVOLVE ITS OWN INSTITUTIONAL ROLE, AND (B) BEGIN CARRYING OUT SHAH'S STATED GOAL OF GIVING CITIZENS GREATER SAY IN GOVERNMENT ON TERMS EITHER EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY ACCEPTABLE TO THRONE.
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